

Message Text

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ACTION SS-25

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 SSO-00 NSCE-00 /026 W

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O 051900Z AUG 75

FM USMISSION USUN NY

TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 1247

C O N F I D E N T I A L USUN 3544

EXDIS

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PFOR UNSC VN VS KS

SUBJ: VIETNAMESE AND ROK APPLICATIONS FOR UN MEMBERSHIP

1. SOME CONFUSION, NOTHING FATAL, SEEMS TO HAVE ARISEN AS TO WHO IS PROPOSING WHAT WITH RESPECT TO THE ADMISSION OF THE VIETNAMS AND SOUTH KOREA TO THE UNITED NATIONS. AS THIS MISSION HAS NOT YET RECEIVED FINAL INSTRUCTIONS, AND AS WE DESIRE ON THIS MATTER TO BE GUIDED FROM WASHINGTON IN MINUTE PARTICULAR, IT MAY BE HELPFUL TO SET FORTH THE SITUATION AS WE SEE IT.

2. FIRST, LET IT BE RECORDED THAT THIS MISSION HAS NEVER PROPOSED, NEVER EVEN CONSIDERED, CO-SPONSORING A RESOLUTION CALLING FOR THE ADMISSION OF THE VIETNAMS ONLY. IN OUR CABLE OF FRIDAY AUGUST 1 WE STATED THAT SUCH A RESOLUTION WOULD BE THE QUOTE GREATEST DANGER UNQUOTE TO OUR POSITION.

3. AS WE UNDERSTAND OUR POSITION, IT IS THAT IF WE CANNOT GET SOUTH KOREA INTO THE UNITED NATIONS, WE WON'T PERMIT THE VIETNAMS. THE QUESTION IS HOW TO DO THIS WITH A MINIMUM OF COST. MANY SEEM TO RECOGNIZE THAT THE COST WILL BE CONSIDERABLE. EVIDENTLY THE SOUTH KOREAN AMBASSADOR YESTERDAY, MONDAY, EXPLAINED TO AMBASSADOR BUFFUM THAT INASMUCH AS SOUTH KOREA WANTS TO BECOME A MEMBER OF THE NONALIGNED, WE MUST AT ALL COSTS AVOID ANY VETO OF THE VIETNAMS BEFORE THE NON-CONFIDENTIAL

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ALIGNED MEET AT LIMA AUGUST 28. EVIDENTLY HE EXPECTS A

THRID WORLD EXPLOSION.

4. THE BEST WAY TO MEET THE DESIRES OF THE SOUTH KOREAN AMBASSADOR WOULD BE A DEADLOCK OVER THE ADOPTION OF THE PROVISIONAL AGENDA IN THE SECURITY COUNCIL. WE ARE ALMOST COMPLETELY CONFIDENT THAT THE PROVISIONAL AGENDA, PREPARED BY THE SECRETARIAT, WILL INCLUDE ALL THREE COUNTRIES. THE OTHER SIDE ALMOST CERTAINLY HAS ENOUGH VOTES TO BLOCK THE ADOPTION OF SUCH AN AGENDA. IF THEY DO THIS, THEY WOULD PRESUMABLY PROPOSE TO SUBSTITUTE AN AGENDA WITH ONLY THE VIETNAMS. WE IN TURN MAY BE ABLE TO MUSTER ENOUGH VOTES--SEVEN--WITH WHICH TO BLOCK THIS SECOND AGENDA. POSSIBLY THIS COULD RESULT IN DEADLOCK, ALTHOUGH MY FEELING IS THAT AFTER A POINT FRANCE, SWEDEN, JAPAN, OR ITALY, OR ALL FOUR WOULD DEFECT. WHEREUPON WE WOULD HAVE TO VOTE ON A TWO-COUNTRY AGENDA.

5. IF THERE IS A DEADLOCK---OR, JUST POSSIBLY, WITHOUT WAITING TO FIND OUT--THE OTHER SIDE MIGHT AGREE TO A RESOLUTION LISTING ALL THREE COUNTRIES WHICH IS TO BE VOTED ON FIRST COUNTRY BY COUNTRY, WITH A FINAL VOTE ON THE WHOLE PACKAGE. WE WOULD THEN HAVE TO VOTE ON THAT AGENDA.

6. WE NEED TO BE INSTRUCTED HOW TO VOTE IN EACH OF THESE SITUATIONS. IN PARTICULAR, WE NEED INSTRUCTIONS ON HOW TO PROCEED ON A THREE-COUNTRY RESOLUTION. IF THERE IS NO TRICKERY, EVIDENTLY WE COUNT ON A FINAL VOTE ON THE WHOLE PACKAGE. BUT I FEAR TRICKERY, AND ALSO TREACHERY.

7. AT NOON TODAY SECURITY COUNCIL PRESIDENT SAITO INFORMED ME OF THE RESULTS OF HIS NOW COMPLETED SURVEY OF SECURITY COUNCIL MEMBERS. IN SUM, THE CHINESE EVIDENTLY WILL NOT BLOCK AN AGENDA WITH ALL THREE COUNTRIES, ALTHOUGH THEY WILL NEVER ACCEPT THE ADMISSION OF SOUTH KOREA. THE RUSSIANS SEEM OF THE SAME VIEW. BY CONTRAST, THE NONALIGNED WANT EACH COUNTRY TAKEN UP AS SEPARATE AND SUCCESSIVE MEETINGS OF THE COUNCIL.

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8. SAITO THEN INFORMED ME "PRIVATELY AND INFORMALLY BECAUSE WE ARE FRIENDS" THAT "MY GOVERNMENT IS STANDING AGAINST LINKAGE." HIS PRIME MINISTER, HE CONTINUED, "IS WORRIED ABOUT THE UNITED STATES ADOPTION OF THE POLICY THE SOVIET UNION HAD BEFORE." HE, THE AMBASSADOR, UNDERSTANDS THAT WE ARE BEING "STRONGLY PRESSURED BY THE SOUTH KOREANS."

9. POSSIBLY STRATEGY OF THE OTHER SIDE IS TO LET
SOUTH KOREA ON THE AGENDA AND HUMILIATE US--AS THEY
WOULD SEE IT--BY DEMONSTRATING THAT WE DON'T HAVE
THE NINE VOTES TO GET IT ADMITTED.
MOYNIHAN

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Message Attributes

Automatic Decaptioning: Z
Capture Date: 01 JAN 1994
Channel Indicators: n/a
Current Classification: UNCLASSIFIED
Concepts: INSTRUCTIONS, MEMBERSHIP, UNGA RESOLUTIONS
Control Number: n/a
Copy: SINGLE
Draft Date: 05 AUG 1975
Decaption Date: 28 MAY 2004
Decaption Note: 25 YEAR REVIEW
Disposition Action: RELEASED
Disposition Approved on Date:
Disposition Authority: greeneet
Disposition Case Number: n/a
Disposition Comment: 25 YEAR REVIEW
Disposition Date: 28 MAY 2004
Disposition Event:
Disposition History: n/a
Disposition Reason:
Disposition Remarks:
Document Number: 1975USUNN03544
Document Source: CORE
Document Unique ID: 00
Drafter: n/a
Enclosure: n/a
Executive Order: GS
Errors: N/A
Film Number: D750270-0309
From: USUN NEW YORK
Handling Restrictions: n/a
Image Path:
ISecure: 1
Legacy Key: link1975/newtext/t19750879/aaaacskk.tel
Line Count: 121
Locator: TEXT ON-LINE, ON MICROFILM
Office: ACTION SS
Original Classification: CONFIDENTIAL
Original Handling Restrictions: EXDIS
Original Previous Classification: n/a
Original Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Page Count: 3
Previous Channel Indicators: n/a
Previous Classification: CONFIDENTIAL
Previous Handling Restrictions: EXDIS
Reference: n/a
Review Action: RELEASED, APPROVED
Review Authority: greeneet
Review Comment: n/a
Review Content Flags:
Review Date: 02 JUL 2003
Review Event:
Review Exemptions: n/a
Review History: RELEASED <02 JUL 2003 by BoyleJA>; APPROVED <10 NOV 2003 by greeneet>
Review Markings:

Margaret P. Grafeld
Declassified/Released
US Department of State
EO Systematic Review
06 JUL 2006

Review Media Identifier:
Review Referrals: n/a
Review Release Date: n/a
Review Release Event: n/a
Review Transfer Date:
Review Withdrawn Fields: n/a
Secure: OPEN
Status: NATIVE
Subject: VIETNAMESE AND ROK APPLICATIONS FOR UN MEMBERSHIP
TAGS: PFOR, VN, VS, KS, US, UNSC
To: STATE
Type: TE
Markings: Margaret P. Grafeld Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 06 JUL 2006